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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1930

WHOLE No. 626



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CERTAIN RICH MEN OF THE SECOND CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

The second century after Christ was an age of rich men, big capitalists and landowners, not so much, however, in Italy as in the provinces. They appeared very often in unexpected places, small towns of Africa, Gaul, Spain, Greece, and Asia Minor. There is no way in which to estimate the size of their fortunes, apart from the fact that in the countries mentioned there are traces of the benefactions of men who built for their own and other communities theaters, aqueducts, roads, baths, and public buildings on a very large scale. Funeral monuments and inscriptions often mark the tribute paid to them by their families or by their countrymen. The source of wealth in each case is of interest; it seems to differ according to locality. The commonest source was agriculture. Large tracts of land were accumulated and cultivated in many instances by Roman soldiers. To such soldiers land was sometimes given in reward for their military services; they increased their property by investments. In the cities, on the other hand, were rich merchants and shopkeepers who carried on an extensive trade with foreign countries as well as with the Roman provinces. The names of some of these men are to be found in various sources, in part in the literature, but more particularly in inscriptions and in the papyri.

A very well known, but rather unusual, example of a man of wealth was Herodes Atticus, who was probably the wealthiest man of his time¹. He was a Greek, born, in 104 A. D., at Marathon. Some of his wealth was doubtless inherited from his father, upon whose estate, it is reported, treasure was found. How far this report can be accepted is not known. At an uncertain date, possibly 125 A. D., Herodes was entrusted with the administration of free towns of Asia; in 143 he was made consul by Antoninus Pius. He did much during his public career and during the period when he had schools of rhetoric, at Athens and, later, at Rome, to embellish Athens at his own expense and to aid its citizens. Nevertheless, these citizens did not show the proper gratitude to him; many enemies attacked him so violently that he was forced to leave Athens. He went to Sirmium in Italy.

There is evidence, both literary and archaeological, concerning Herodes's liberality in Greece and in Italy. In Athens he rebuilt the Stadium, and furnished it with seats, of Pentelic marble, and he erected a theater in

honor of Regilla his wife, for whom he also set up a tomb on the Appian Way. The theater is the so-called Odeum of Herodes Atticus, at the southwest corner of the Acropolis; a part of it is in use to-day. At Corinth he built another theater, at Olympia an aqueduct, at Delphi a race-course, and at Thermopylae a hospital. He appears to have aided whole towns and to have rescued them from destruction and oblivion. Some of the towns of the Peloponnesus, Boeotia, Euboea, and Epirus were restored by him; he provided Canusium, in Italy, with water. Herodes even thought of digging a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, but work on this project was never begun by him.

The source of the wealth which enabled Herodes to build and to plan on such a large scale is not mentioned by Philostratus or by Pausanias (see note 1). It is likely, however, that he possessed much land in Greece. It is even possible that he owned some of the stone-quarries and marble-quarries for which Greece is famous, and which were a means of acquiring wealth in ancient days.

Although agriculture was not flourishing in Greece during the second century, there seems to have been some productive land in the country. Most of that land was in the hands of well-to-do owners, who lived in the cities, as Herodes did. One of these was Plutarch, of Chaeronea, a friend of Herodes, and also a man of culture. Plutarch was particularly interested at one time in the revival of the ancient oracle at Delphi. He may have influenced his friend Herodes to contribute to the support of the shrine, which was having difficulty in paying its taxes, or he may have contributed to its support from his own resources.

The spirit of liberality characteristic of the second century is shown by the example of Sostratus, of Boeotia, who is reported to have lived on Parnassus, to have fought robbers, and to have built roads. Little is known about this man, however, but he is probably similar to many other men whose voluntary services to their country are mentioned in inscriptions. An inscription on a funeral monument gives information concerning a certain C. Iulius Eurycles, who is known, together with members of his family, from the time of Augustus as a benefactor of Greek cities, especially Sparta². C. Iulius Eurycles Heculanus, the son of C. Iulius Laco, and the grandson of C. Iulius Eurycles, lived during the reign of Trajan; he held public offices, both religious and those of the imperial *cursus*. He was a *sacerdos Augustorum perpetuus*, *sacerdos Castoris et Pollucis*, *quaestor*, *propraetor* of the province of Achaia, *tribunus plebis*, *praetor*, *legatus provinciae Hispaniae Baeticae*, and *legatus Augusti legionis IV*³.

¹Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, Book 2, Division 1 (pages 545-566, according to Olearius's numbering), is the chief source of information concerning Herodes Atticus. The text (with a translation, by Mrs. Wilmer Cave Wright) may be found in a volume entitled *Philostratus and Eupapius*, in *The Loeb Classical Library*, pages 138-183 (1922). See also Pausanias 1.19, 2.1, 6.21, 7.20, 10.32. Compare the article Herodes 13, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 8.922-954 (1913). There is, in the Museum at Corinth, a marble bust, which was found in a Roman villa near the shore. On this there is an inscription in Greek, which means 'Herodes walks here'.

²Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*², No. 841.

³*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2, No. 109 (Kaiserlich Academie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1897). There is an article in *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 6 (1881), by Weil, entitled *Die Familie des C. Iulius Eurykles*.

Explorations in the town of Rhodiapolis, of Lycia, in Asia Minor, brought to light the name of another wealthy man of the second century. A funeral monument covered on three sides with a Greek inscription shows that Opromoas, a native of this small town, spent large sums of money on his own and other Lycian communities⁴. A letter written by the procurator Caelius Florus urges Opromoas to entertain the Emperor Trajan on his journey in 117 A. D., and to give to the Emperor a reception such as had been accorded to him elsewhere in Asia Minor⁵. It seems to have been the custom during the Empire for private citizens of means to undertake the responsibility of entertaining the Emperors on their travels through the provinces. This must have been a stupendous undertaking, because it often meant not only that the Emperor and his retinue must be supplied with food and quarters, but also that the whole army must be provided for, sometimes during an entire season.

A certain Ti. Iulius Severus was sent by Hadrian to Bithynia to improve the financial situation⁶, just as Pliny the Younger had been sent to the same province by Trajan, not long before, to improve the finances. Severus is praised in an inscription for having taken the burden of feeding and quartering the large army for the winter of 114-115, the year of Trajan's expedition in Western Asia⁷. Similar instances occurred at Ephesus, when Vedius Gaius entertained the Emperor Lucius Verus at the time of his Parthian War, in 162 or 164⁸, and in 166 or 167 A. D., when the rich sophist T. Flavius Damianus, a descendant of distinguished and wealthy ancestors, provided for the Emperor and his army on their return from the Parthian War⁹. These events are evidence enough of immense fortunes.

Another man who aided the finances of the province of Bithynia was Dio Chrysostom, a native of Prusa, in Bithynia¹⁰. He was a sophist, as were Plutarch and Damianus. From his life and his works it is possible to determine, to a certain extent, the economic condition of the province of Bithynia as well as that of his own family. Dio's father seems to have been a good business man; under his management the family fortunes reached generous proportions. He probably derived his wealth from the cultivation of land. The son Dio is reported to have increased the family fortune by the planting of vineyards and by grazing operations, as well as by lending money and by the organization of shops.

In Gaul, too, in the second century, an unusual state of prosperity was reached. The twelfth and the thirteenth volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, and various pieces of sculpture and tombs

found in Gaul at Treves, Luxemburg, Arles, Narbo, and other places, record and picture innumerable examples of the liberality and the generosity of wealthy citizens. It is possible from some of these to gain an idea of the economic situation of the Gallic towns and cities, and to discover the common source from which wealth was acquired. The places mentioned above seem to have been commercial towns dealing in the manufacture and the transportation of such products as oil, wine, lumber, and clothing. There is one noted example of a fortune made through dealing in clothes, by the family of the Secundinii, during the last part of the second century. A funeral monument erected in the first part of the third century, at Igel, the native city of this family, contains sculpture depicting the private life of the Secundinii, and the particular part which they played in Igel as wholesale traders in clothes¹¹. The sculpture gives scenes such as the shops and the business carried on in them, and shows the means of transportation of goods, both by land and by water.

Sculptured tombs, and tombs bearing inscriptions, such as those in Asia Minor and Gaul, just referred to, were a common medium during the second century for revealing to the world the accomplishments and the achievements of deceased citizens, and the nature of the work in which each had been employed during his lifetime. What were the motives of the individuals who caused these monuments to be set up is of no particular importance. What is important is the fact that their tombs have thrown light upon the daily private and business life of their time. Moreover, these elaborate monuments seem to have been characteristic of the art of several of the Roman provinces during this period.

The class of rich shopkeepers was large in the second century and was increasing. Landowners, too, were numerous, especially in North Africa and in Egypt; large amounts of money and property were acquired there through investments in land. The development of the land in North Africa must have begun under Augustus and his immediate followers, who gave to favorites large tracts of land. But, as time went on, the imperial policies changed; later, there are few examples of the Augustan type of landowner. There were many private estates, as funeral inscriptions show, but the owners were local inhabitants, descendants or families of Roman officials, or, more commonly, veterans of the Roman army.

A few inscriptions supply names of wealthy men living in North Africa, such as L. Aelius Timininus, of Madaurus¹², and Q. Iuvenalis, from Thubursicu Numidarum¹³. In Leptis Magna there was discovered, in 1732, an inscription in honor of Hadrian recording the building of an aqueduct, from the river Cinyphus to the city, at the expense of a certain Q. Servius Candidus¹⁴. The source of the wealth of these men is not

⁴This long inscription may be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, 3.739.

⁵*Ibidem*. The inscription contains this letter. The tomb was erected and inscribed, probably, under Opromoas's direction. Compare R. Heberdey, *Opromoas*, 68 (Vienna, 1897).

⁶*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2.215, No. 375.

⁷*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, 3.173-174.

⁸*Forschungen in Ephesos, Veröffentlicht vom Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institut*, 3. 155, No. 72 (Wien, Hölder, 1906-1923).

⁹*Ibidem*, 161, No. 80. Compare also Philostratus (as cited in note 1, above), 265-269.

¹⁰Philostratus 17-23.

¹¹Compare an article by F. Drexel, *Die Bilder der Igeler Säule*, in *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 35 (1920).

¹²S. Gsell, *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie*, 1.2195 (Paris, E. Champion, 1922).

¹³S. Gsell and A. Joly, *Khamissa*, 29.

¹⁴*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 8.11.

indicated, but it is safe to suppose that they were landowners. Other inscriptions give names of owners of land who let land to tenants, but preferred for themselves the life of the cities. They seldom lived on their estates, but left them in charge of overseers. This is particularly true of estates near the city of Carthage. A. Gabinius Datus, of Thugga, and T. Flavius Macer were influential citizens and landowners. The names and the inscriptions from North Africa do not give definite information concerning economic conditions or management of estates and methods of cultivation of land.

From Egypt, on the contrary, there is abundant information which indicates that landowners were dominant there, far more so than in North Africa. It is possible that the land in North Africa to a great extent had been exhausted by overproduction of crops, and that cultivation of the land had become more widely developed in Egypt. The discovery of large numbers of papyri has opened a new field of research in connection with this Roman province. From these papyri it has been possible to obtain definite information for Egypt, information not available for other Roman provinces, concerning the manner in which records of military and official affairs were kept. Private correspondence also has yielded many facts concerning daily life and business. It is clear, also, that the landholding class in Egypt consisted largely of Roman veterans, who owned large tracts of land, and sometimes appeared as benefactors of their communities. Iulius Horion, a veteran, is known from a declaration of uninundated land, which amounted to twenty-five *arourae*¹⁵. Another landowner was Apollonius, a strategos of the Heptakomia, of the time of Hadrian. From his official and private correspondence much is to be learned of him and of his family¹⁶. Other landowners known from papyri are Ti. Claudius Irenaeus¹⁷, M. Antonius Pallas, and M. Iulius Asclepiades. Pallas was the owner of a large *ousia* in the Hermopolites, in 121 A. D.¹⁸. Asclepiades was probably the philosopher who bequeathed estates at Euhemeria, in the Fayûm, to the city of Alexandria¹⁹. Property at Euhemeria was also owned by Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, a veteran and typical landowner and middle-class farmer, whose estates were very productive. From his extant correspondence a great deal is learned of the methods of working his land, and the amounts which were paid to those in his service. Among the latter was a devoted slave overseer named Epagathus. Olive-raising was the chief source of Gemellus's income. He also lent money²⁰.

Similar to Gemellus was L. Iulius Serenus, who had settled in Karanis, in the Fayûm, after military service

¹⁵B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II.1459 (London, Egypt Exploration Society).

¹⁶Griechische Papyri im Museum des Aberhessischen Geschichtsvereins, Ernst Kornemann und Paul Meyer, Parts 1-3 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910-1912).

¹⁷Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 4.727.

¹⁸L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 370 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912).

¹⁹B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, Nos. 2, 97 (London, 1900).

²⁰Professor W. L. Westermann gives a detailed study of the accounts kept by Gemellus and the way in which he managed his properties, in his paper, *An Egyptian Farmer*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 3 (1910).

in Egypt. The receipts of the *Ala Veterana Gallica*, of which Serenus was *summus curator*, some private receipts for taxes paid on grazing land, orchards, and vineyards, and a personal letter to a brother are the sources of knowledge concerning Serenus²¹. The tax-receipts indicate that some of Serenus's taxes were paid in kind, some in money. The forms which were used in making out receipts are revealed, and the amounts recorded in each case prove that Serenus's holdings of property were large, and that he was able to live comfortably on his income after his military service was completed.

A more intensive study would doubtless yield more names and offer more facts concerning the classes of moderately rich and very rich men so typical of the second century after Christ. There seems to be a scarcity of information concerning individual men in the province of Spain, but it is possible to conjecture what the general conditions there were. By her native poets and writers the impression is given that Spain produced wine, oil, and iron. Martial mentions²² the steel of Bilbilis, his native city. But, if we may judge from the evidence and from the display of success in Gaul, North Africa, and Asia Minor, we may say that less progress was made in Spain than in these other provinces. However, the fact that not many cities have been excavated in Spain may explain why little is known about the condition of that country in ancient times.

The facts about the men mentioned above in relation to the provinces which they represented not only show that rich men were increasing in number in the second century, but also indicate in some cases how they made their fortunes. The inscriptions, papyri, and pieces of sculpture found in the Roman provinces have been an invaluable source in revealing the material prosperity which Hadrian found during his travels through the Roman Empire.

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ELIZABETH GRIER

REVIEWS

Lucian, Satirist and Artist. By F. G. Allinson. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (1926). Pp. 204. \$1.75.

Professor Allinson's volume, *Lucian, Satirist and Artist*, belongs to the series entitled *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*¹.

In accordance with the plan of the series, Professor Allinson has given us a popular account of Lucian as a writer and of his influence in later times. The virtue of a book of this kind, which is addressed primarily to the intelligent layman, depends very largely upon the style and force of presentation; Professor Allinson, although his style is not free from occasional blemishes, is everywhere interesting and effective.

¹For a discussion of Serenus and a study of the papyri containing his tax-receipts see my article, *L. Iulius Serenus, An Egyptian Landowner of the Second Century after Christ*, *Classical Philology* 24 (1929), 42-47.

²²Martial 1.49.11, 4.55.11-15.

²³The series was published at first by the Marshall Jones Company, Boston. For three or four years past it has been published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., New York City. C. K. >

His pages are marked by many an apt and vigorous expression, by a lively and ever-present wit, and by great, and at times unrestrained, ingenuity in the use of metaphors and modern analogies. Unlike some authors in this series, Professor Allinson did not have to put on a false face when he addressed himself to the "mercurial modern" (101); he was a virtuoso in the art of writing entertainingly long before he undertook this book. Nevertheless, he would have done well to avoid such flourishes as (49) "abstention from eating beans (with hard-boiled reasons)" . . . , (82) "Hermes, the heavenly 'bell-hop'", or (101) "the mercurial modern, craving his 'quick lunch'" . . . , a type of *facetiae* which, in the reviewer's opinion, is somewhat beneath Lucian even in his lightest mood. Fortunately, such lapses are not very numerous, and they are offset by many a page of more elevated and at the same time brilliant exposition.

Professor Allinson begins with a brief statement concerning Lucian's place in ancient literature and his Credentials for the Twentieth Century (3-13). On page 4 he remarks,

... Lucian was not one of the Twelve Olympians! He was more of a Heracles using on the Hydras of his century, in lieu of a club, the stiletto of satire and, without the compulsion imposed on the demi-god, addressing himself gaily to the cleansing of Augean Stables of charlatanry and accumulating superstitions. . . .

Again, he says (71),

... He <Lucian> was, or claimed to be, the Apostle of Free Speech, the Interpreter of Common Sense to the rational minority of his day . . . a sincere crusader against shams, inherited or new. . . .

In such a writer there is obviously much of interest for the twentieth century. The uphill struggle of common sense against nonsense, official or otherwise, is a perennial affair; and, as our author notes, many of the shams that Lucian attacks are still on parade to-day, generally, though not always, in a somewhat altered mask. But the adjustment is readily made; it is easy to recognize in the objects of Lucian's satire the psychological attitudes which underlie many of the phenomena of modern life, and which, in the ancient writer, are often manifested through the medium of particulars that resemble very closely the things of to-day. The universality, moreover, of the Dialogues of the Dead, Charon, Timon, The Cock, and others is such that they require little or no knowledge of ancient times in order to be understood and appreciated by the modern reader.

In the second chapter, entitled The Age of the Antonines (14-23), Professor Allinson gives a brief sketch, more picturesque than analytical, of the second century world, and passes on to consider the life of Lucian. Here The Dream and The Double Indictment furnish interesting, if somewhat meager, information which Professor Allinson presents, along with other material, in an attractive manner. But why should the Life of Demonax be ignored? That this biography was written by Lucian is now the prevailing view (see the interesting study by K. Funk, *Philologus*, Supplementband, 10.561-674); but, even if it were not written

by Lucian, it would deserve special mention, since Demonax, a contemporary, is in his outlook on life almost another Lucian. Since the ideas ascribed to him coincide in so many instances with Lucian's favorite conceits, and since our author tells us that he has long associated with this man and greatly admired him, it is necessary to concede, if we grant the authenticity of the work, that Demonax exerted a considerable influence or stimulus upon Lucian's own thought. The Eunuchus, for example, may owe its conception to the apothegm of Demonax in Chapter 12 of the biography; and, if Lucian wrote a biography of Sostratus, the Boeotian 'Heracles' of his day, as stated in Demonax 1, it is an interesting fact and might have been included in Chapter IV (37-46), which deals with the form and the contents of the extant writings of Lucian. The range of Lucian's interests and the variation in the quality and the spirit of his work were probably much wider than is generally realized by those who are tempted to bracket everything in the Corpus Lucianum that lacks 'Witz und Salz'. Later (111, 136), Professor Allinson alludes to the Demonax as "dull". To be sure, it is not comic nor satirical, like most of Lucian's dialogues, and its form of composition, though conventional, is not in accord with modern taste. But, whatever one may think of its qualities as entertainment, this Life of Demonax shows Lucian (I believe) in a serious and idealizing mood, and for that reason deserves respectful attention from his biographer.

Professor Allinson wisely refrains from a systematic analysis of Lucian's style and the sources of his effect, but here and there he throws in some illuminating comment. He observes, for instance, that the characters in Lucian's satire are wont to plead guilty by explaining, and remarks (44)

that the sparkling wit of his satire, at a first reading, constantly deflects the reader from consciousness that his reason is being led captive. Undisguised impossibilities become possible, rational, actual through Lucian's method of solemnly confirming the "utterly impossible" by specifying details. When, for example, chanticleer before dawn addresses his owner in human speech, the shoemaker is given no chance to recover from that surprise before he is swept on by the still greater surprise of finding that his cock is Pythagoras and this fact is, in turn, made inescapable by the unimpeachable autobiography forthwith detailed by the temporary rooster. . . .

The subject matter of Lucian's best writings and much of their charm are effectively conveyed to the reader in Chapters V-VII, entitled respectively Philosophy and Ethics (47-64), The Supernatural (65-99), and Other Dramatic Dialogues: Polemics: Narrations (100-120). The brief sketch of Dialogues of the Sea (106-108) is especially felicitous. That Lucian felt some hostility to the established, but fading Greek theology may be readily conceded; yet it is easy to overestimate the intensity of this feeling. It is my impression that in the dialogues dealing with the gods he is often more of a γελοισποιός than a bona fide satirist; the spirit in which he satirizes other contemporary beliefs and tendencies shows a greater earnestness.

The last chapter, which is the longest (121-187), deals with Lucian's Creditors and Debtors. Naturally, the author had to be very brief in dealing with the "creditors". So far as we know, Lucian was never a slavish imitator. He adopted many a *motif* from his predecessors, especially in comedy, but he was in the habit of recasting them in his own mold, as Professor Allinson carefully points out. On the question of plagiarism it may be noted that ancient sophists were as a rule more jealous of their words than of their subject matter and ideas; the latter tended to be regarded as common property, like the subjects of Attic comedy, while the highest artistic achievement was sought by the individual in matters of style (compare Zeuxis, 2). In the piece commonly cited now by the title *Prometheus Es in Verbis* (7) Lucian is very confident that no one can accuse him of plagiarism: "... of all charges that is the last you could bring against my writings". He would scarcely make such a boast if he understood by theft the appropriation of plots and motives from earlier writers, since he has obviously borrowed a great deal of material of this kind. What he and his contemporaries regarded as plagiarism is well illustrated by the speech of Zeus in the *Tragical Zeus*, which is cribbed from Demosthenes, or that of the faker in *Pseudologistae* 5-6.

Separate sections full of heterogeneous information, but not uninteresting, are devoted to Lucian's indebtedness to works of art (126-130) and to his legatees both in art (130-133) and in literature (133-187). Concerning the relation of Apuleius to Lucian, Professor Allinson is very noncommittal, in my opinion unduly so. If this relationship has not been determined "past peradventure" (134), it is at least very probable². Apart from the story of the ass (which Apuleius must have taken from Lucian, if, as Professor Allinson is inclined to admit, the *Asinus* is of Lucianic origin; see *Classical Philology* 21.225-234), there are some striking parallels between the two writers in thought and in phraseology. Compare, for example, *Metamorphoses* 11.16 with Lucian's *Navigium* 5; the same ship, named *Isis*, is described in both passages in remarkably similar words. It would appear that Apuleius, having occasion to describe a ship, took his cue from Lucian's essay by that title. Compare further *Florida* 23 with *Navigium* 5, 7-9, *Apologia* 83, *velut alto barathro calumnia se mergit*, with Lucian's *De Calumnia* 32, *ὁλχοιτο ἄν φεύγουσα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἢ διαβολή*, *Metamorphoses* 1.20, *meis auribus propecto*, with *Heracles* 3, *Icaromenippus* 4, etc., *Metamorphoses* 3.6, *velut catena*, with *Bis Accusatus* 21,

²An equal degree of caution might have prevented Professor Allinson from accepting without question, as he does, the hypothesis that Lucian originally spoke only Syriac; for at the best this is a somewhat dubious inference from *Bis Accusatus* 27. When, in that passage, Lady Rhetoric in her indictment of Lucian refers spitefully to him as having been *βάρβαρος ἐν τῇ φωνῇ*, she may have reference to a vulgar Hellenistic dialect such as was spoken on the Euphrates; to Her Attic Majesty the *Κοιμή* might well seem barbaric, though normally, as in *Piscator* 19, this phrase would imply an alien tongue. If Lucian could address his own townspeople in Greek in the *Dream*, it is not at all difficult to suppose that he, as well as they, had been brought up to speak that language. That he was of Syrian nationality he tells us repeatedly, but that is another matter. Professor Allinson may be quite right about Lucian's mother tongue, but I think he will have to admit that it cannot be determined "past peradventure".

Metamorphoses 2.18, *nec tamen incomitatus ibo, nam gladiolo cinctus*, with *Tyrannicide* 7, *οὐ μόνος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους ἀνθρῆν*. Close parallels between Apuleius, *Cupid and Psyche*, and the *Dialogues of the Gods* have been noted by Dietze and Helm as examples of common borrowing from supposedly stock Alexandrian motives; but they are so closely grouped in both writers that borrowing on the part of Apuleius seems the more probable hypothesis. Compare *Dialogues of the Gods* 2.1, 5.2 with Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 6.22, *Dialogues of the Gods* 2.1, *ἡ δόρι...*, with *Metamorphoses* 5.31, *quot sit*, etc., *Dialogues of the Gods* 11.1 (see also 12.1) with *Metamorphoses* 5.30 *ipsam matrem*, *Dialogues of the Gods* 11.1 (Aphrodite's threat) with *Metamorphoses* 5.29 (*ad finem*). Helm compares *Metamorphoses* 6.24 with *Icaromenippus* 27, where, besides the close parallelism, he notes, in both passages, a curious and sudden change from the imperfect tense in one series of verbs to the aorist in another.

To the meager list of ancient writers who are known to have imitated Lucian Aristaenetus might have been added. He shows distinct familiarity with the *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. We may, probably, add also Achilles Tatius, and even so humble a thing as the Syriac translation of the *De Calumnia*.

From Professor Allinson's discussion of Lucian's legatees in modern literature and art most of us will have much to learn. The reader will find the usual catalogue of debtors, which necessarily lacks inner unity; but the transitions are smooth, and even the uninteresting items are made interesting by the author's vivacious style. Professor Allinson's task, especially in this part of the book, was a difficult one, but the execution is very able throughout; he well deserves our thanks and congratulations.

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B. E. PERRY

The Road to the Temple. By Susan Glaspell. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company (1927). Pp. xii + 445.

The Road to the Temple is the story, as true as his wife could make it, of the career of "Jig" Cook, from the pioneer forebears who gave him his heritage of mind and body to the grave in the old burying-ground at Delphi, marked with a stone from the Temple of Apollo. He was possessed by an absorbing preoccupation with *life*, a preoccupation which made him so responsive, albeit sometimes in eccentric fashion, to things Greek. He is an embodied refutation of the charge that the magic of Greece is merely a glamor of conventional tradition, fostered by the Schools. If ever a spirit was absolutely untrammelled by tradition and convention, that spirit was George Cram Cook's. Yet there are few periods of his stormy, striving life that do not bear the trace of Greece in some form, from the day on which as a little boy (29) he "built the city of Troy in the sand of the island while Dad and his friends fished" to that other day when, high on the shoulder of Parnassus, "Kurios Kouk" looked up from his Greek Bible to see Elias Scaramouches emerging from the spruce, carrying a lamb over his shoulders

in the manner of the archaic Dorian Apollo. Instantly he cast the man for the rôle of Abel the Shepherd in the play that he and his Greek neighbors planned to make out of the life of Delphi from long before Homer's times on down through the ages—yes, and act it, too, there, on the ancient threshing-floor or in the ancient theater.

It is, of course, those last years in Greece and the intimacy with Greek life, so simply and inevitably achieved, which justify a notice in these pages of the book under review. Those years occupy a relatively small portion of the book, yet "Kurios Kouk" of Delphi cannot be really known save as the product of the years that went before, and it is not likely that anyone who takes up the book to look for Greece in it will lay it down without coming to Greece by a devious way of Iowa river shore and Harvard students' rooms, Chicago and Cape Cod and Greenwich Village, teaching and baseball, truck farm and violin and typewriter, The Monist Society and The Provincetown Players. So one finds George Cram Cook at the age of forty-eight, sitting alone with his wife in the theater¹ he had designed (311), "in that place to which he had given so much of himself, and through which so much of him was realized. At last he spoke. 'It is time to go to Greece', he said".

It is characteristic of the man that in the busy days before sailing, when his wife supposed him to be getting all the practical preliminaries attended to, he was providing for the voyage by discovering an unabridged Liddell and Scott with which he returned—beaming—to make it his constant companion on shipboard, indeed through the rest of his life.

I said that George Cram Cook was untrammelled by tradition. This held true in his handling of things Greek as in all else. Whatever he looked at he saw with his own eyes, whatever he touched he shaped with his own hands, unrestrained by anything any one else might have seen or fashioned. Beyond question the results were sometimes bizarre enough. Yet, if he had been able to realize his vision of The Delphic Players, who knows what drama of Life through the Ages, with Cain and Abel and the Gods of Old Greece and the archaeologists and bandits of to-day and the sheep and spindles of all times, might have made come true one more of "Jig" Cook's dreams? But "Jig" paid with his life for his devoted care of one little sick Greek dog, and the neighbors that were to have helped the play into being carried his body on an open bier, to the sound of violins and shepherd pipes, around the bend of the road (443) "to his Delphi where there were voices long ago".

"The women spin, the sheep pass"².

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GRACE H. GOODALE

Fugitive's Return. By Susan Glaspell. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company (1929). Pp. 324.

Susan Glaspell, in her recent novel, *Fugitive's Return*, has made liberal and recognizable use of the

varied materials, personalities, folk-ways, landscape, and traditions that were accumulated so lavishly in the years which produced *The Road to the Temple* (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.117-118). Both books are an "affirmation of life". In the later book, however, the influence of Greece, ancient and modern, upon the stream of consciousness is more deliberately incorporated and traced. Yet, although there is much to which the lover of Greece will eagerly assent, one still feels that the Greece of *The Road to the Temple*, more casually treated though it be, perhaps, indeed, for that very reason, possesses a superior validity. In a novel, even in one more religiously adherent to the stream-of-consciousness type than *Fugitive's Return* can claim to be, there is apt to be some continuous and unifying current which exercises a selective and interpretive function. The reader's awareness of this function, his perception of the pattern, uncluttered by waste bits with which the pattern is not concerned, may at the same time gratify his desire for form and deprive the novel of cogency. For example, Theodora, the fantastic and demanding little refugee, seems more convincing even if less intelligible as she whisks inconsequently out of the narrative of *The Road to the Temple* than when she plays an important part in the tragedy which brings *Fugitive's Return* to its goal.

The objective parts of the novel, the events which are depicted as observed by Irma Lee in her abnormal state of semisuspended emotion and intellect, as recalled by her when she emerges from that state, or as experienced by her after that emergence, do occasionally put a heavy strain upon the reader's will to believe—if that matters. Certainly one who has had personal demonstration of Greek quickness of comprehension without the aid of one intelligible syllable might allow it to be possible for an American woman in the state of dazed speechlessness which afflicted and protected Irma Lee after the loss of her husband and the death of her child to make her way about Athens and be accepted at Delphi as the novel describes.

In the handling of one aspect of the material common to both the books are noticeably in agreement. Neither, in presenting the beauty and dignity of life among the poor folk of the Greek countryside, passes over the crudities and the cruelties by which that way of life is disfigured. Yet both tacitly assume that any one may perceive how the dignities and beauties themselves remain unblemished. Through the novel, as through the biography, "The women spin—the sheep pass"¹.

BARNARD COLLEGE,
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GRACE HARRIET GOODALE

The New Catholic Dictionary. New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation (1929). Pp. VII + 1073.

The *New Catholic Dictionary* is issued under the auspices of The Catholic Encyclopedia and has been compiled and published by the editors of that work, assisted by other scholars. In fact it might be de-

¹The Provincetown Playhouse.

²See page 445.

¹The Road to the Temple, 445.

scribed as *The Catholic Encyclopedia* in epitome. It rightly bears therefore on its title page these words: "A complete work of reference on every subject in the life, belief, tradition, rites, symbolism, devotions, history, biography, laws, dioceses, missions, centers, institutions, organizations, statistics of the Church and her part in promoting science, art, education, social welfare, morals and civilization".

The work contains 12 maps, 671 text-illustrations, 64 half-tone, full-page illustrations, and treats 8250 subjects. The information is accurate and authoritative. Being a book of general reference on its particular subject, it naturally will not be of immediate service to the teacher of the Classics, except on topics of antiquity which were carried over into Christianity and received new applications. Archaeologists who have to dig through Christian Churches to arrive at earlier strata will find many terms defined of which, perhaps, definitions cannot be so readily found elsewhere. Ecclesiastical architecture receives good treatment. Medieval Latinists will find the work more serviceable. The chief Latin hymns are indexed by their first line and described. The Greek and Latin Fathers have fairly long sketches, as have also other writers, Christian and those who treat of Christianity. History and biography occupy a large space, and in some cases, for instance in the article Philology (three columns), the work of Catholic scholars not discussed fully elsewhere receives treatment in detail. Perhaps the most useful part of the Dictionary for medievalists will be the explanation of abbreviations and of technical terms of religion, canon law, and liturgy. The style, as befits a work of reference, is objective and impersonal, and omits praise or blame, advocacy or warning, presenting the facts impartially without expressing the author's reaction to the facts. Wherever other religious beliefs are defined, their definitions are taken from the authorities on those beliefs. The New Catholic Dictionary is, therefore, an excellent work of reference, and, for swift and satisfactory consultation, an indispensable book for its subject.

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FRANCIS P. DONNELLY, S. J.

Pompeii in Three Hours. By Tatiana Warsher. With 100 Illustrations and Plans. Pp. VII, 9-156. Rome: Industria Tipografica Imperia [Deposito Generale, Libreria Bittner] (1930).

Madame Tatiana Warsher, author of the volume here under review, was already known by her volume, *Pompeii: Ein Führer durch die Ruinen* (*THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 20.213), and by her remarkable series of detailed photographs of Pompeii; long and repeated visits to the buried city have given her a familiarity with its monuments which many scholars may envy. In the present booklet she has set herself a task by no means easy, that of guiding "the first steps of visitors, who wish to see the town by themselves". She has achieved her purpose well, for the visitor who is so fortunate as to start his Pompeian wanderings with this guide in hand is morally certain to be beguiled by

its clear and appreciative description into overstaying the allotted three hours; the little book will win many serious converts to Pompeian studies.

The well-selected photographs from Madame Warsher's own collection form a special feature, which will not only prove of assistance on the spot but will make the book welcome in libraries (e. g. Figure 75 shows the new restoration of a stretch of the upper story of the peristyle in the Casa del Centenario); it was a happy thought, also, to include the two letters of Pliny (6.16, 6.20). If we take into account the linguistic and technical difficulties under which the volume was prepared¹, its production must be reckoned a triumph. Only rarely will those using it be likely to be misled by slips, as in regard to some of the names in the new excavations. On page 104, the date before which certain wall-paintings were done should be '60 A. D.'; on page 91, the cross-reference should read 'page 20'; on page 65, "sitting-room" appears misleading; on page 47, a query concerning the name of the temple (called "The Temple of Vespasian") and the date of the altar (Augustan?) would have been helpful.

The visitor to Pompeii should be grateful for what has been done in this booklet, with lavish generosity, to lay before him the best and the most characteristic things that the town has to offer. The pre-Roman monuments here stand out clearly from the average, comparatively prosaic houses of the later period. Attention is drawn to many details of domestic furniture and decoration that otherwise might easily escape notice. Restraint has been shown in the matter of distinguishing the styles of painting on the walls; the author realizes that the first visit is not the time for arriving at the more subtle stylistic criteria, and in the circumstances it was judicious to emphasize the subjects represented rather than technique and school.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

A. W. VAN BUREN

IPHIGENIA AMONG THE TAURIANS AND TRADER HORN

There is an interesting literary parallel between Euripides's *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and that popular work of fiction, *Trader Horn*¹. Descriptions of nature and tales of adventure are combined in this book with a story which is romantic to the last degree, the story of a white girl, Nina T——, of aristocratic birth, who has been carried away by a witch doctor, has been brought up as a virgin priestess, and is kept isolated as a sacred being in a josh-house, which is ornamented with skulls, and in which savage orgies and human sacrifices take place. The hero rescues her and gets her away on his steamer, after she has eluded her guards by the pretense of going to a spring to bathe. The situation is quite obviously that of *Iphigenia* in the play of Euripides, and the general atmosphere is much the same, if we make allowance for the conventional elements in Greek drama. Anyone who reads *Trader Horn* will almost certainly find the story of *Iphigenia* gaining thereby in vividness and in actuality. One wonders from what Greek *Trader Horn* Euripides got the setting for the story which he has so

¹Madame Warsher is a Russian by birth; the composers were Italians. C. K.

²*Trader Horn, Being the Life and Works of Alfred Aloysius Horn, etc.*, Edited by Ethelreda Lewis (New York, Simon and Shuster, 1927).

cleverly adapted to the pattern of Greek tragedy and legend.

It seems unlikely that the plot in *Trader Horn* derives directly from Euripides. It probably comes from Rider Haggard, whose books are evidently favorites with *Trader Horn*. A situation so romantic is bound to recur in fiction. Euripides was among other things a master of romance. In his *Helen*, he employed the same theme of a Greek woman in distress in a foreign land. The rescue of a distressed virgin in the *Andromeda* was doubtless conceived in a similar spirit. Presumably it was the autobiographical feature of *Trader Horn*'s fiction that made it impossible to represent his hero as in love with the rescued lady. The noble from Peru, who has Inca blood and owns a silver mine, is a passable substitute. The absence of a romantic love scene in the plays of Euripides is sufficiently accounted for by the convention that the love of a man for a woman could not be expressed in tragedy consistently with dignity. A similar convention in epic poetry probably explains some of Aeneas's deficiencies as a lover in the *Aeneid*.

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L. A. POST

THE ORDINAL IN ACCUSATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF TIME

Particularly in connection with the adverb *iam* the singular of the ordinal adjective is rather frequently found in accusative expressions of time, in passages like Cicero, *De Imperio Pompei* 71... <Mithridates> ab illo tempore *annum iam tertium et vicesimum* regnat. The teacher of Latin perhaps feels that there is something unusual in such a use of the accusative case, and that it does not fit exactly with the standard rules.

It may be instructive to view, side by side, two passages, Suetonius, *Caligula* 35.3... *Nemorensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit*, and Tacitus, *Annales* 2.42.2... *Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur*. In the first the full extent of the time is explicitly set down, in the other the extent is merely implied. It perhaps is fair to say that examples with the singular ordinal do not belong properly to the normal category of accusative of extent but represent an analogy to it¹.

The capacity of the ordinal to include by implication is well illustrated in a very different construction found in Juvenal, 1.64-65: ...*cum iam sexta cervice feratur hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra*... The 'style' of a litter was rated somewhat according to the number of bearers. Here some rascal has stolen enough to keep a showy equipage. He is carried not merely (by =) on 'a sixth shoulder', but on a shoulder that makes the sixth, that is, six in all.

A well defined instance of the use of the accusative ordinal appears in Tacitus, *Annales* 2.5.2: ...*At ille <= Germanicus>, ... celerandae victoriae intentione, tractare proeliorum vias et quae sibi tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenissent*. Germanicus is here represented as planning for new campaigns on the basis of his previous service in Germany; manifestly he is thinking of his experiences during all the time of his command there.

¹Of course several influences sometimes converge in support of a given construction. So in this instance there is a possible distant connection with transitive expressions such as *vitam agere, aetatem degere*, etc. <Logically *annum iam tertium et vicesimum* = *annos (iam) viginti duo*, or *plus annos viginti duo*. Hence the expressions discussed here by Professor Nutting are, in reality, entirely simple. C. K.>.

So, in its relation to Etruscan neighbors, Rome is spoken of in the following terms (Livy 5.45.4): *urbis iam prope quadringentissimum annum vicinae*... The emphasis here is upon the length of the time. Livy is shocked that such old neighbors would not help Rome when Rome was attacked by the Gauls.

In this connection it is in point also to note the frequency with which the present indicative accompanied by *iam diu* includes a reference to the past as well; compare e. g. Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 7.9.1, *Iam diu ignoro quid agas*, i.e. 'I have long since been in the dark as to how you are faring'.

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H. C. NUTTING

A SAYING OF VIRGIL

In Mr. Gamaliel Bradford's book *As God Made Them*, 299, occurs the following passage: "There is a suggestive sentence, which was a favorite with Sainte-Beuve and is said to be from Virgil, one would at least like to think it his: *On se lasse de tout sauf de comprendre*, one wearies of everything except to understand". The observation about which Mr. Bradford has such vague knowledge rests on the very high authority of Asconius Pedianus, and is supported not only by Vergil's obvious trend to philosophy in his later years, but especially by his expressed intention, *ut reliqua vita < i.e. 'after the completion of the Aeneid' > tantum philosophiae vacaret* (Donatus-Suetonius, *Vita Vergili*, 35; compare Norman W. DeWitt, *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria* [Toronto, 1923; New York, Oxford University Press, 1923]). In full it runs: *At Maecenas, "Quid", inquit, "Virgili, satietatem homini non adfert?" "Omnium rerum", inquit, "aut similitudo aut multitudo stomachum facit praeter intelligere"*. There are of course many parallels to such a thought, naturally with slightly different emphases, from Vergil's predecessors. Compare e.g. Sophocles, *Antigone* 1348-1349: "Wisdom is the supreme part of happiness" (Jebb), and Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.7.9 (I give H. Rackham's translation, in *The Loeb Classical Library*): "...that which is best and most pleasant for each creature is that which is proper to the nature of each; accordingly the life of the intellect is the best and the pleasantest life for man, inasmuch as the intellect especially is man; therefore this life will be the happiest".

Arthur Schopenhauer was of like mind with Vergil in recognizing the joy in the exercise of the disinterested intelligence as the only substantial happiness vouchsafed to man. The topic is almost a commonplace in his works. Those who are interested may find several references to it collected in G. F. Wagner's admirable *Register zu Schopenhauers Werken*, s.v. *Erkenntnis*, 4 (Karlsruhe, 1909); but its best expression, I think, is in a footnote to *Von Dem*, was *Einer ist* (*Sämtliche Werke*, 5.355 [Leipzig, 1891]), as translated by T. Bailey Saunders, *The Wisdom of Life*, 35 (London, 1911): "The highest produce of Nature is the clearest degree of consciousness, in which the world mirrors itself more plainly and completely than anywhere else. A man endowed with this form of intelligence is in possession of what is noblest and best on earth; and accordingly, he has a source of pleasure in comparison with which all others are small".

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W. A. OLDFATHER

¹So Donatus Auctus, *Vita Vergili*, § 73, in the edition by Ernst Diehl (Bonn. Marcus und Weber, 1911; see page 31, in the edition of the *Vitae Vergilianae*, by Jacob Brummer [Teubner, Leipzig 1912]).